1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

nounced. Every man contributes a small cash gift of two to five shillings, given as a token of friendship and esteem and collected by a close friend of the father of the new child. The money is used to pay the barber and the *mallams* who say prayers to ensure the safety of the child and his future success.

When the barber has finished his work, the father sends in a friend to tell the women the name he has chosen for the new child. Ideally his friend should return and then announce the name to the men outside, but very often the men are told at the same time. Now the baby is a person; it has a name; its sex is known; it has joined the compound and the community. The senior *mallam* leads everyone in a prayer and the ceremony is over. Kola nuts and perfume are passed around among the men and the new father gives a few pennies to each reader of the Koran and several shillings to the senior *mallam*. It is a memorable day for the parents and there is general rejoicing among those who know about the ceremony and are related in some way to the family. One informant put it this way:

> Everyone is happy because the father and mother have shown that they have practiced the customs of our people, and they have shown that they have been blessed with good fortune because "the little kitten" has become a person.

Especially pleased on such occasions is the namesake of the new baby, if he is alive, for it is a public recognition of the respect and affection shown to this person by the family. Very often the name used is that of the grandparent. The Kanuri very often take turns using grandparent's names on both sides of the family although some insist that boys be named from the father's side and girls from the mother's. However, parents may also name children after an important person or a person to whom the father owes some subordination. The Kanuri, like people in many places, avoid using the names of their own parents or parents-in-law and high status or elderly people in general. Therefore the child is given a nickname that often indicates his or her relationship to the person whose name he bears. For example, many Kanuri boys are named Abba Gana (small father) or simply Abba (father) indicating that they have been named after the father of one of their parents. The link to the grandparent is even closer if the latter has been named after *his* grandparent making him a person who is called Abba Gana as well. Thus the grandson can, in practice, share both his grandfather's "real" name and his nickname as well. Sometimes the mother is referred to in a name, or even the order of one's birth in relation to other children. Thus two of the contemporary sons of the royal family in Bornu are called Abba Kiari Kura and Abba Kiari Shuwa. These men are half brothers named after their royal grandfather—Kiari. Indeed Kiari itself is a circumlocution meaning "old" or "the old one." Kura means "the big one" or "the oldest brother," and Shuwa refers to the tribal membership of Abba Kiari Shuwa's mother. Thus one son, Abba Kiari Kura, is called "father, the old one, the eldest," or "the eldest one named after my father, the old one," and the other brother, Abba Kiari Shuwa, is "father, the old one, the Shuwa," or the "son of the Shuwa wife who is named after my father, the old one." Abba Kiari's real name, Mustafa, never appears in these well-known names of his grandsons who are his recognized namesakes. Sometimes a name reflects the title of the person that the child is named after. Thus Mallam Kumbar refers to the title of the particular person's grandfather, who was Kumbar in the court of the king. Or again, sometimes

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The terms of the relationship are dictated by the boy and his immediate family or compound head, on the one hand, and the master instructor on the other. If there is a recognized kinship link between the boy and his future teacher and the compound head, then arrangements are much looser than if this is not the case. In the latter situation there is generally hard bargaining over the terms of the relationship. In general the boy must live in the master's house for a stipulated period helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the occupational specialization of his master. He is a *tada njima,* or son of the house, and refers to his new household head as *abba njima,* or father of the house. He is supposed to act in the situation in the same way as a son acts towards his father. If the master is already a relative, he refers to the apprentice by the appropriate kin term in the manner laid out for such relationships within the culture, although he has added authority in this particular situation. Arrangements in such cases are often made early in the boy's life and last longer, coming closer in effect to a true adoption. A number of men reported having difficulty ending such relationships when they wish to go out on their own, especially when the master is also related by kinship to the apprentice. On the other hand, all Kanuri accept subordination as the means to valued ends. The following case will give some idea of the details involved in such a relationship.

A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years of age had previously been apprenticed to a seller of kola nuts. However he decided to give it up because it entailed the constant giving of credit to his customers and he never seemed able to collect all the money owed to him. His full brother in Maiduguri who had been his wholesale supplier advised him to return to their home town and become a barber. The older brother claimed that it was a good occupation and furthermore one of the barbers back in Magumeri needed an apprentice since his own son was as yet too young to help in the work. The young boy returned to Magumeri to ask the barber about it and then completed his own arrangements for the apprenticeship. He moved into the barber's compound for one year and became his apprentice. He could visit the compound in which his mother lived and attend his own farm plots. But he had to cultivate the barber's land, gather grass for the horse, carry water now and then, and be ready at all times to run messages for his *abba njima.* The barber taught him how to shave heads and cup blood (for medicinal purposes), and gave him a barber's bag of tools with which he began working sometimes with his master, sometimes alone.[2] By rights all the proceeds earned during that year were supposed to be given to the master barber. Naturally he pocketed an occasional fee but not too often; to do so would have been to risk his mentor's dissatisfaction and also his projected career as a barber. The senior could, had he felt the boy to be completely unsatisfactory, dismiss him and take back the barber's tools. The barber clothed and fed him and gave him a little spending money regularly during that first year. At special events such as naming ceremonies he was given a small tip by the household head because of his role as the barber's apprentice. This he kept for himself. In 1957 he moved into the compound occupied by his mother in Magumeri. He still considers himself a *tada njima* of the

[2] Like many peoples of West Africa, the wider Islamic world, and even Europe not so long ago, the Kanuri believe that taking out a little blood can rid a person of various ailments. They do this by making a few shallow incisions, then sucking the blood into a cattle horn.

425 671 land is sufficiently old so that he can sell the land if he wishes to. If a man works a piece of land for a long time (for 425 695 ten years, for example) he can sell it. But in a recent legal case a policeman who worked in Geidam was given land by the Lowan. After a year he left Geidam for Maiduguri and sold the land. The Alkali ruled that he had not had the land for a sufficiently long period of time to enable him to sell it, and forced him to return the sum of money which was paid to him by the new owner.

241 565 592 Land is farmed under a variety of conditions. Talaka farm the land themselves with the help of wives and children. A wealthy man, however, may take a very large section of farm land from the Lowan, which he will not work personally. Instead the members of his household, his many tata njima, farm his land for him. His tata njima work on the farm of the household head [965] because this is one of their duties. They receive no payment 241 565 in the form of a share of the crops for their labor. Some 464 [178] wealthy men may not have very large households of their own, and may hire day laborers to work for them. This, too, is a new ap- 241 427 proach to labor for the Kanuri. A man with a very large farm who does not intend to use all of his land himself can rent out sections, particularly if his land is in a very favorable location. The renter pays a fixed sum to the owner, and the crops belong entirely to him. No form of share-cropping is practiced. 241 634 The Ajia of Geidam has huge sections of land alloted to him. [423] Any of his people, his slaves, his kabuna or others attached to

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Marketing Board for whom the trading companies act as agents. The Kanuri trader who brings in a large share of the groundnut crop in the Geidam area to the particular trading company which has extended credit to him receives a commission and is assured that he will again receive credit from that company in the coming year. If he has succeeded in bringing in large amounts of groundnuts, he will receive more money to work with in the coming year. If he has not done well, or if the money advanced to him has been squandered by his "people" (usually the members of his household), then his credit will suffer and may even be entirely eliminated. Should that happen, his entire household would suffer.

Hides and skins and gum arabic are bought by Kanuri traders and sold to the trading companies in the same manner, except that there is no government Marketing Board dealing in these commodities so that the trading companies are not protected against a drop in the market price. Kanuri traders dealing in hides and skins work with a single company and are advanced cash by that company for purchases. Through their "men", who buy hides directly at the slaughtering area, these wealthy traders deliver the hides and skins to the trading company. Gum arabic is of lesser importance, and not all the European companies deal in it. If the world market price is high, they will make greater efforts to obtain a large portion of the crop.

This is the trade network through which the Kanuri economy articulates with the world economy, and in particular with the

593 over the leadership of the compound then for all intents and purposes the older brother must be treated by his younger siblings in a very similar manner to a parent. If the age disparity is not very great then the situation may be ameliorated although here [592] personality factors may enter into the situation. In one case of male twins the father had died, and because of a dominance-submission interaction between the two men, the second born but dominant twin had become the accepted head of the compound. Later when the submissive twin left to form his own compound nearby, he remained in close economic subordination to his brother.

Many informants felt that the discipline-respect relation of junior and senior siblings, real and classificatory, was at best a tenuous one, especially between males. The following example illustrates how culture contact can operate to increase the fragility of the sibling relationship. An informant who was employed by the N.A. obtained a job for his Fa-Bro-So as his assistant in the bush. The senior in the relationship was finding it extremely difficult to make the junior do any work, or take any instructions seriously. The junior complained privately that he was being mistreated and poorly used by the senior, who he said was not giving him enough to eat. Finally the relationship was severed and the junior (classificatory) sibling left to go to the provincial capital. These difficulties were accentuated by the differences in remuneration patterning between European and Kanuri cultures. The senior had been getting monthly pay and an allowance for his sibling assistant which he turned over to the boy. The youngster promptly spent the money and expected to be supported all through the rest of the month

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593 by his senior sibling in return for services rendered. The senior
• 465 who had been on monthly salary for several years felt strongly that his junior sibling should learn to manage by the month. The result was the boy's refusal to obey his senior's commands and the eventual break-up of the relationship.

593 In the questionnaire material there is a slight drop in
604 shame responses towards elder siblings (not significant statistically) and a significant drop in respect responses when the relationship is compared to ego's relations to parent's collaterals. The figures are given in the following Table: R - response; N-R - number of responses which were different per subject for that category.

TABLE III

Responses to Older Siblings and Parents' Collaterals
(no difference between patri- and matri-kin)

	Shame		Respect		Friendship	
	R	N-R	R	N-R	R	N-R
older siblings	16	61	67	10	41	34
par. collaterals	21	67	86	2	16	72
sig. level			.01		.01	

(The chi-square test was used here. For the theoretical validity of its use with small numbers see: Lewis, D. and Burke, C.J. The Use and Misuse of the Chi-Square Test, in the Psychological Bulletin, 46, pp.433-489, 1949; and Snedecor, G.W., Statistical Methods, p. 169, 1940.)

571 The indication that bèrzum is regarded primarily as a norm governing the behaviour by a subordinate to a superior rather than as a descriptive term for the relationship is illustrated in the following table which compares ego's responses on either side of a
571 junior-senior relationship. The Ol-Sis-Hu and Wi-Yo-Bro have a
607 reciprocal joking relationship with one another. However, the junior in the situation must pay respect(nona), or give respect (bèrzum) to the senior, even though their traditionally formalized inter-

556 565 829 [434] but that in Gwonyiri, about three-quarters of a mile to the east of Magumeri village, there were at least a dozen "rich" men. When asked why they were rich he answered that they had very large farms (about fifteen to twenty acres) and made much money from their cash crops. [442] One was a wholesale kola nut dealer and sold many (four to six) "packages" [465] of nuts (one package equals five to eight thousand nuts) per month. It was illuminating in this conversation, in which the young man was asked, "What is a rich man?" and, "Who are rich men?", that he had not mentioned the District Head of Magumeri who earns officially seven hundred pounds per annum, or any of the well-known rich traders of Bornu who live in Maiduguri. When asked whether the rich peasants of Gwonyiri were wealthier than the District Head or a rich trader in the city he said "atè a'l gèdigèdi" (that is something different) because "zandi kam gèdi" (they are different people). The District Head is an aristocrat, a man of power, and the rich trader is a kam birni (a city man) but "arma andi tala" (we are peasants). That is to say, the informant's birth and socialization into the rural peasant sector of Kanuri society made his range of judgments along the dimensions of status different from that of a chief or a rich trader. Like other informants, his concept of the status dimension was divided into "my" range, or "our" range, and "their" range. Although he knew that the range of statuses along any dimension went beyond "our range", he perceived people outside this to be "different" and he used the expression "different people" to describe them. Yet he certainly recognized that they were of the same ethnic group as himself. When he was first asked about rich people he used